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ART. V.—*Indian Biography.*

The Fall of the Indian, with other Poems. By ISAAC McLELLAN, JR. 12mo. Boston. 1830.

The poems contained in this little volume evince a highly cultivated taste, and no inconsiderable power in the young author. As a juvenile production, they can hardly be subjected with fairness to the test of formal criticism; but should Mr. McLellan devote himself to poetry, we think we can assure him, that with due diligence and a careful study of the best models, he may attain an enviable rank among the masters of the art. Should circumstances, as is more probable, give a different direction to his future pursuits, the same vigor and vivacity of genius which prompted these essays will, we doubt not, raise him to an honorable standing in one of the learned professions. The subject of the principal poem, which gives its title to the volume, is one among other evidences of the interest that is now felt among us in the history and character of the original inhabitants of our continent. This is a topic of high importance, under various points of view, and it is particularly desirable that it should be thoroughly examined, while the last remnants of this unfortunate race are still lingering round the tombs of their ancestors. Much has been done within a few years by the learned labors of Duponceau, Heckewelder, Pickering, Cass, and others, to illustrate their institutions, language, and history; but much more is yet to be effected, and before the subject is exhausted, there is room to fear that the unfortunate policy of the Government may have anticipated the fate, which seems to have been reserved in the decrees of Providence for these children of the forest. With a view, however, of gratifying what we conceive to be the public feeling on the subject, and of exciting others to more methodical inquiries, we propose on the present occasion to offer in a desultory form, a few anecdotes of some of the most remarkable of the original inhabitants of this quarter of the country.

The clearest, if not the completest classification of the New-England Indians, at the date of the settlement of Plymouth, includes five principal confederacies, each occupying their own territory, and governed by their own chiefs. The Pequots inhabited the eastern part of Connecticut. East of them were the Narraghansetts, within whose limits Rhode-Island, and various smaller islands in the vicinity were comprised.

The Pawtucket tribes were situated chiefly in the southern section of New-Hampshire; the Massachusetts tribes around the bay of their own name; and between these upon the north and the Narragansetts upon the south, the Pokanokets claimed a tract of what is now Bristol county, (Rhode-Island) bounded laterally by Taunton and Pawtucket rivers for some distance, together with large parts of Plymouth and Barnstable.

This confederacy exercised some dominion over the Indians of Nantucket and Martha's-Vineyard, and over several of the nearest Massachusetts and Nipmuck tribes;—the latter name designating an interior territory, now mostly within the boundaries of Worcester county. Of the Pokanokets, there were nine separate cantons or tribes, each governed by its own petty sagamore or squaw, but all subject to one grand-sachem, who was also the particular chief of the Wampanoag canton, living about Montaup. This celebrated eminence (frequently called, by corruption of the Indian name, Mount-Hope) is a mile or two east of the village of Bristol. It is very steep upon all sides, and terminates in a large rock, having the appearance to a distant spectator, of an immense dome. It was the favorite residence of Philip, Alexander, Massasoit,* and the long line of royal ancestry who probably preceded them; and they could scarcely have chosen one more creditable to their taste. It commanded a magnificent prospect of Providence and the surrounding country and bay.†

The first knowledge which we have of Massasoit and his Wampanoag subjects, is furnished in the collections of Purchas, on the authority of a Captain Dermer, the Master Thomas Dirmire spoken of by John Smith in his *New-Eng-*

* We have given the most simple orthography of this word. It is frequently written Massasoyt, Massasoiet, Massasowat, &c. Mr. Belknap says, (*American Biography*), that contemporary pronunciation made it a word of four syllables, with the accent on the second,—Mas-sass-o-it. The sachem subsequently assumed another name, which has undergone still more various modifications,—Oosamequin, Woosamequin, and Ausamequin, are some of them.

† And such too, it may be added, was the location of Sassacus, the chief sachem of the Pequots. His principal fortress, on a beautiful hill in the town of Groton, (Connecticut,) commanded, as Dr. Trumbull observes, one of the finest prospects of the Sound and the adjacent country which is to be found upon the coast. His other strong hold was a few miles east of this, near Mystic river, upon a beautiful eminence, gradually descending toward the south and south-east.

land Trialls, as ‘an vnderstanding and industrious gentleman, who was also with *him* amongst the Frenchmen.’ Dermer was sent out from England in 1619, by Sir F. Gorges, on account of the President and Council of New-England, in a ship of two hundred tons. He had a Pokanoket Indian with him, named Squanto, one of about twenty who had been kidnapped on the coast by Captain Hunt, in 1614, and sold as slaves at Malaga for twenty pounds a man.* Squanto and a few others of the captives were either rescued or redeemed, by the benevolent interposition of some of the monks upon that island. ‘When I arrived,’ says Dermer in his letter to Purchas, ‘at my savage’s native country, finding all dead, I travelled along a day’s journey to a place called Mummastaquyt, where, finding inhabitants, I despatched a messenger a day’s journey further west, to Pacanokit, which bordereth on the sea; whence came to see me two kings, attended with a guard of fifty armed men, who being well satisfied with that my savage and I discoursed unto them, (being desirous of novelty) gave me content in whatsoever I demanded. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Masstachusitt, who three years since escaped shipwreck at the north-east of Cape Cod.’ One of these two kings,—as the sachems were frequently entitled by the early writers,—must have been Massasoit, so well known afterwards to the Plymouth settlers; and probably the second was his brother Quadepinah. Mummastaquyt was no doubt the place where Edward Winslow speaks of tarrying, on his embassy to Massasoit in 1623, by him called Namaskhet, and now known as a part of Middleborough. As to ‘finding inhabitants,’ Winslow concluded that he was near the residence of Massasoit here, because ‘the inhabitants flocked so thick upon every slight occasion amongst them.’ The ‘native country’ of Squanto was the vicinity of Plymouth, where the Indians are understood to have been

* It is gratifying to learn from Smith that Hunt was punished, though not according to the baseness of his infamous crime. ‘He betrayed foure and twentie of these poore Saluages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanely for their kinde usage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for Rials of eight; but *this vilde act kept him ever after from any more imploiment to these parts.*’—Generale Historie of New-England, published in 1632.

kidnapped. Thousands of them, there as well as elsewhere along the whole coast of New-England, had been swept off by a terrible pestilence.

The first appearance of Massasoit after the settlement of Plymouth, was upon the 22d of March, 1621, a week previous to which some information concerning him had been gathered from an Indian named Samoset, who entered the village with great boldness, and greeted the inhabitants with a 'welcome.' On the second occasion, he came in with four others,—having engaged to introduce some of the Wampanoags, to traffic in furs,—among whom was Squanto, at that time probably the sole remaining native of Plymouth. This party brought a few fish and skins to sell, and informed the English that the great sachem, with his brother and his whole force, were near at hand. Massasoit soon appeared upon the neighboring hill, with sixty men. As they seemed unwilling to approach nearer, Squanto was despatched to ascertain their designs; and they gave him to understand, that they wished some one should be sent to hold a parley. Edward Winslow was appointed to this office, and he immediately carried presents to the sachem, which were willingly accepted. He addressed him also in a speech of some length, which the Indians listened to with the decorous gravity characteristic of the race, ill-explained as it was by the interpreter. The purport of the speech was, that King James saluted the sachem, his brother, with the words of peace and love; that he accepted him as his friend and ally; and that the Governor desired to see him, and to trade and treat with him upon friendly terms. Massasoit appears to have made no special reply to this harangue, for the sufficient reason, probably, that he did not precisely comprehend the drift of it. He paid more attention to the sword and armor of Winslow while he spoke; and when he had ceased speaking, signified his disposition to commence the proposed trade forthwith by buying *them*. They were not, however, for sale; and so, leaving Winslow in the custody of his brother, he crossed a brook between him and the English, taking with him twenty of the Wampanoags, who were directed to leave their bows and arrows behind them. Beyond the brook he was met by Captain Standish and another gentleman, with an escort of six armed men, who exchanged salutations with him, and attended him to one of the best houses in the village. Here, a green rug was spread

upon the floor, and three or four cushions piled on it for his accommodation. The Governor then entered the house, followed by several soldiers, and preceded by a flourish of a drum and trumpet,—a measure probably recommended by Standish, and which answered the purpose of delighting and astounding the Wampanoags, even beyond expectation. It was a deference paid to their sovereign, which pleased as much as it surprised them. The sachem and the Governor now kissed each other, and after the interchange of certain other civilities, sat down together, and regaled themselves with what Neal calls an entertainment. It consisted, it seems, chiefly of ‘strong waters, a thing the savages love very well; and the sachem took such a large draught of it at once, as made him sweat all the while he staid.’ Other historians represent him as having been under some alarm during the conference, which was manifested by his trembling; but the latter fact, if it be one, may possibly be attributed to some other cause. A treaty was concluded upon this occasion, the terms of which were as follows.

1. That neither he, nor any of his (Massasoit’s) should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.

3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.

4. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

5. That he should send to his neighbor confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these conditions of peace.

6. That when his came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms behind them.

7. That so doing, their Sovereign Lord, King James, would esteem him as his friend and ally.

‘All which,’ says Morton,—and some other annalists agree with him,—‘he liked very well, and withal, at the same time, acknowledged himself content to become the subject of our Sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto him all the lands adjacent, to him and his heirs forever.’ This acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the

King, if it really made a part of the agreement, certainly deserved a place as a distinct article ; being by far more important than all the others. The grant of land,—and this grant constituted the entire title of the Plymouth settlers, as against the natives,—is confirmed by subsequent transactions, and especially by the acts of Massasoit. But his submission to the authority of King James, as a subject to a sovereign, is more doubtful ; nor does it by any means accord with the seventh express article. That the treaty itself also was not preserved precisely as it was probably understood, may be inferred from the variations of it given by Mourt in his Relation. According to *his* sixth article, for example, a just reciprocity is maintained, by providing that the English should leave their *pieces* behind them in their interviews with the Indians. This distinction between alliance and subjection,—at least in the mind of one of the parties,—seems to have been too much overlooked ; especially by those writers, who also confound the renewal of an old treaty,—as Alexander and Philip are understood to have renewed this,—with the making of a new one in conformity to constructions which a single party might gratuitously put upon the old. It may be doubted, perhaps, whether there is any other foundation than this same mistake, for the freedom with which Hubbard, Mather, and several others, characterize the last named Prince particularly, as a treacherous and perfidious caitiff,—a notorious traitor,—the villain,—and the grand REBEL.

Such, however, was the first treaty made with the Indians of New England,—a passage in its history of great interest. It was made upon peaceable and honorable terms. The Indians came in voluntarily to make it ; and though they received as a consideration for the immense territory granted at the time, only a pair of knives, and a copper chain with a jewel in it for the grand sachem ; and a knife, a jewel to hang in his ear, a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter for Quadepinah,*—yet were all parties satisfied with the substance as they were gratified by the ceremonies of the agreement. It is pleasing to learn from history, that this simple negotiation was remembered and adhered to

* So minutely is the transaction described in *The Journal of a Plantation at Plymouth*, preserved by Purchas, and re-published among the Historical Collections of Massachusetts. There is reason to think that Winslow was the author.

on both sides for the unparalleled term of half a century ; nor was Massasoit, or any of the Wampanoags during his life-time, convicted by the harshest revilers of his race, of having violated, or attempted to violate, any of its plain, just, and deliberate provisions.

The two parties seem to have regarded each other on this occasion with a curiosity of equal interest and minuteness ; for while the sachem was inspecting the armor of Winslow, and his Wampanoags exerting themselves to blow the trumpet in imitation of their hosts,* the English by-standers, on the other hand, were making their own observations. The writer of the *Journal of a Plantation settled at Plymouth*, describes Massasoit as ‘ a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech.’ In his attire, he is said to have differed little from the rest of his followers, excepting that he wore a large chain of white bone-beads about his neck, which was, probably, one of the royal *insignia* ; and that he had suspended from it behind, a little bag of tobacco, which he *drank*, says the writer, ‘ and gave us to drink.’ His appearance otherwise does not seem to have been particularly elegant ; his face being painted of a sad red, like murrey, and both head and face so oiled that he ‘ looked greasily.’ His only weapon was a long knife, swinging at his bosom by a string. His attendants were probably arrayed for this great occasion with peculiar attention to etiquette ; some of them being painted black, others red, yellow, or white ; some wearing crosses and ‘ other antick works ;’ and several of them dressed in furs or skins of various descriptions. Being tall, strong men also, and the first natives whom most of the Colonists had ever seen near at hand, they must have made to them a somewhat imposing, as well as interesting spectacle. Leaving a few of their number among the whites, as hostages, the Wampanoags retired to the woods about half a mile distant and spent the night ; and Winslow acted as *their* hostage. The English were not yet prepared, it would seem, to put faith in the professions of savages ; for they kept strict watch all night, besides retaining the security just named. Their guests, on the contrary, enjoyed themselves quietly in the woods ; and there were some of their wives and children

* ‘ He marvelled much at our trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as we could.’—*Journal*.

with them, who must have come upon this courteous visit from a distance of forty miles. The sachem sent several of his people the next morning, to signify his wish that some of his new friends would honor *him* with their presence. Standish and one Alderton* 'went venturously' among them, and were cordially, if not royally welcomed with an entertainment of tobacco and ground-nuts. 'We cannot yet conceive,' continues our still unsatisfied informant, 'but that he is willing to have peace with us; for they have seen our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods at work and fowling, when they offered them no harm, as they might easily have done.' They remained at their encampment till late in the forenoon; the Governor requiting the sachem's liberality, meanwhile, by sending an express messenger for his large kettle, and filling it with dry peas. 'This pleased them well; and so they went their way;'—the one party as much relieved, no doubt, as the other was gratified.

Such was the earliest visit, of ceremony or business at least, which the natives of New-England paid to the Colonists. The account given of it, though *ex parte*, as all such descriptions must be, is honorable to the former in the highest degree. They show that many, if not most of the savages, who were fairly dealt with, were at first as sensible and as prone to kindness as could have been wished. They went unarmed among the settlers without fear, disposed to be honest and friendly at all events, and as hospitable as their means permitted. It will appear in the sequel, that they continued so for a long course of years, as they also continued faithful to their express obligations. It is worth noticing, that Samoset and Squanto remained with the Colonists on the departure of Massasoit, probably with his permission, if not by his order. They subsequently instructed their new friends as to the best time, places and methods of taking fish,† and in the simple agriculture of their country-

* From whom the outer point of Boston harbor is said to have been named.

† We shall be excused for citing these pleasant passages, trifling as they are. It is said, that on one occasion,—'Squanto went at noon to fish for eels, at night he came home with as many as he could lift in one hand. He had trod them with his feet, and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.' An interesting notice of this savage might be collected, were there space for it in a note. We

men, showing them particularly how their *Indian corn* should be planted.

We meet with Massasoit again in July, 1621; an embassy being then sent to him at his own residence, Montaup or Sowams. This embassy consisted of Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins; and the objects of it were, says Mourt,* 'that *forasmuch as his subjects came often and without fear upon all occasions amongst us,*' so the English went now to visit him, carrying with them a coat from the Governor to his friend the sachem, as a token of good will, and desire to live peaceably. It was farther intimated, though with great delicacy, that whereas his people came frequently and in great numbers to Plymouth, wives, children, and all, and were always welcome,—yet being but strangers in the land, and not confident how their corn might prosper, they could no longer give them such entertainment as they had done, and still wished to do. If Massasoit himself, however, would visit them, or any special friend of his, he should be welcome. A request was then made, that the Pokanokets, who had furs, should be permitted to dispose of them to the Colonists. The Governor wished him also to exchange some corn for seed with the Plymouth people. The remaining article in this message is more illustrative of the relations understood to exist and to be desirable between the parties. On the first arrival of the Colonists at Cape Cod, it seems they had found corn buried there in the ground. Seeing no inhabitants in the neighborhood, 'but some graves of the dead newly buried,' they took the corn, with the intention of making full satisfaction for it whenever it became practicable. The owners of it were supposed to have fled through fear. It was now proposed, that these men should be informed by Massasoit,—if they could be found,—that the English were ready to pay

shall only observe, at present, that he is the same character otherwise called Squantum, and Tisquantum by various writers. John Smith takes the liberty to call him Tusquantum. Those who look much into the literature of the Indians, will find some amusement as well as no little perplexity in the variety of titles attached to the same person or thing. We have seen that Dermer speaks of the Mastachusitts, meaning the same people whom the more scrupulous and better informed Roger Williams denominates the *Massachusett*.

* See MOURT'S RELATION, part of which is also preserved in the COLLECTIONS. The name of the publisher only seems to be attached to it.

them with an equal quantity of corn, English meal, or ‘any other commodities they had to pleasure them withal;’ and full satisfaction was offered for any trouble, which the sachem might do them the favor to take. This proposal was equally politic and just.

The visitors met with a generous, though humble hospitality, which reminds one of the first reception of Columbus by the West-Indian islanders, and of Penn and Roger Williams by the Delawares and the Narraghansetts. They reached Namaschet about three o’clock in the afternoon; and there, we are told, the inhabitants entertained them with joy, in the best manner they were able; giving them sweet bread* and fish, with a less acceptable accompaniment of boiled musty acorns. Various civilities were exchanged after this primitive and savory repast,—as ancient, by the way, as the early Greeks,—and some time was passed very pleasantly in shooting a crow at a considerable distance, to the vast astonishment and amusement of the Indians. They were then directed to a place about eight miles distant, (Middleborough) where, says the Journalist, they should find ‘more store and better victuals.’ They were welcomed, on their arrival, by a party who were catching great numbers of fine bass in Taunton river, and who gave them a supper, and a breakfast in the morning, besides the privilege of lodging in the woods near by over night. Attended by six of their hosts the next day, they were assisted in passing the river; and here they met with the first indications of ill-will, in the persons of two old Indians upon the opposite bank. These two, espying them as they entered the river, ran swiftly and stealthily among the high grass to meet them; and then, with loud voices and drawn bows, demanded of the strangers who they were; ‘but seeing we were friends,’ it is added, ‘they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them.’ The remarks which follow this, upon the conduct of the six attendants, we cannot forbear citing at large, irrelevant to our main purpose as they are. We regard them with delight, as a beautiful illustration of the character of the natives as it was in the beginning, and as it might have been

* Called *mazium*, and made of Indian corn, no doubt. Gookin says, that a meal which they made of parched maize was so sweet, so hearty, and so *toothsome*, that an Indian would travel many days with no other food.

always, could the same circumstances have prompted the same developements. 'When we came to a small brook,' says this accurate writer, 'where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accords; also fearing we were, or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces; also if we would lay off any of our clothes, [it being excessively hot,] we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly, in affording us help and furtherance in the journey.'

After one more entertainment on the way, our travellers reached Sowams. Massasoit was not at home, but arrived soon after, and was saluted by his visiters with a discharge of musketry. He welcomed them kindly after the Indian manner, took them into his lodge, and seated them by himself. They then delivered their message and presents, the latter comprising a horseman's coat of red cotton, embroidered with fine lace. The sachem mounted this superb article without delay, and hung the chain, which they also gave him, about his neck, evidently enjoying the unspeakable admiration of the Wampanoags, who gazed upon him at a distance. He now answered the message, clause after clause; and particularly signified his desire to continue in peace and friendship with his neighbors. He gathered his men around him, in fine, and harangued them; they occasionally confirming what he said by their customary ejaculations. Was not he, Massasoit, commander of the country about them? Was not such a town within his dominions, and were not the people of it his subjects, and should they not bring their skins to him, if he wished it? In this manner he proceeded to name about thirty of his small settlements, his attentive auditors responding to each question. This matter being regularly settled, he lighted tobacco for his guests, and conversed with them about their own country and King, marvelling, above all, that his Majesty should live without a squaw. As it grew late, and he offered no more substantial entertainment than this,—for the sound reason, that he had nothing to offer, and was unwilling to mention that circumstance,—his guests intimated a wish to retire for the night. He forthwith accommodated them, with himself and his wife, they at one end and his visiters at the other, of a bed

consisting of a plank platform, raised a foot or two from the ground and covered with a thin mat. Two of his chief men, probably by way of compliment, were also stationed upon the same premises; and this body-guard performed their pressing duty of escort so effectually, that no other circumstances were necessary to make the honored guests 'worse weary of their lodging than they had been of their journey.' On the following day, many of the petty sagamores, with their subjects, came in from the adjacent country, and various sports and games were got up for the entertainment of the English. At noon, they partook, with the sachem and about forty others, of a meal of boiled fish *shot* by himself, (probably with arrows.) They continued with him until the next morning, when they departed, leaving Massasoit 'both grieved and ashamed' that he could not better entertain them. Very importunate he was, adds the journalist, to have them stay with him longer; but as they had eaten but one meal for two days and a night, with the exception of a partridge, which one of them killed; and what with their location at night, the 'savages' barbarous singing of themselves to sleep, mosquitoes without doors, and other trifling inconveniences within, could not sleep at all; they begged to be excused,—on the score of conscience, Sunday being near at hand,—not to mention that they were growing light-headed, and could hardly expect, if they stayed much longer, to be able to reach home.

Massasoit's friendship was again tested in March, 1622, when an Indian, known to be under Squanto's influence, came running in among a party of colonists, with his face gashed, and the blood fresh upon it, calling out to them to flee for their lives, and then looking behind him as if pursued. On coming up, he told them that the Indians, under Massasoit, were congregating at a certain place for an attack upon the Colony; that he had received his wounds in consequence of opposing their designs; and had barely escaped from them with his life. This report occasioned no little alarm; although the correctness of it was flatly denied by Hobamock, a Pokanoket Indian resident at Plymouth, who recommended that a messenger should be sent secretly to Sowams, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth. This was done, and the messenger, finding every thing in its usually quiet state, informed Massasoit of the reports circulated against him. He was excessively incensed against Squanto; but sent his thanks to the Governor for the good

opinion of his fidelity, which he understood him to retain ; and directed the messenger to assure him, that he should instantly apprise him of any conspiracy which might at any future time take place. Some writers have imputed this stratagem of Squanto, to an ambition of notoriety among his countrymen. Others suggest, that he may have intended only an innocent liberty, afterwards to be explained and excused, manœuvres of this nature being not uncommon among the Indians. But whatever was the occasion of the rumor, there is no doubt either of its entire falsity or of the great and just offence which it gave.

That the declarations of Massasoit, upon this occasion, were far from being mere words of compulsion or of courtesy, is abundantly proved by his conduct during the next season, 1623. Early in the spring of that year, news came to Plymouth, that he was very sick at Sowams ; and it was determined to send Mr. Winslow to visit him once more, in token of the friendship of the colonists. That gentleman immediately commenced his journey, being provided with a few cordials, and attended by ‘ one Master John Hampden, a London gentleman, who then wintered with him, and desired much to see the country,’—no doubt the same character so eminently distinguished afterwards in the politics of England. They heard, at various places on their route, that the sachem was already dead ; and their guide, Hobamock, indulged himself all the way in the most unbounded grief. They found him still living, however, on their arrival ; and the multitude of dependents and friends who thronged his lodge, made way as fast as possible for their admittance and accommodation. He appeared to be reduced to the last extremities. Six or eight women were employed in chafing his cold limbs, and the residue of the numerous company were exerting themselves to the utmost, meanwhile, in making what Winslow rather uncharitably calls ‘ such a hellish noise as distempered those that were well.’* He had the good sense, however, to wait for the conclusion of the ceremony ; and the

* Probably an Indian Powah was leader of the chorus. Of these barbarian quacks, Roger Williams says, that ‘ the poore people commonly dye under their hands,’ for the very good reason that they ‘ administer nothing, but howle, and roar, and hollow over them, and begin the song to the rest of the people about them, who all joyne (like a quire) in prayer to the gods for them.’ *Key to the Indian Language*, chapter xxxi.

exhausted performers being then satisfied that they had done all that in them lay for the benefit of the patient, one of them apprised him of the arrival of the English. ‘*Who* have come?’ muttered the sachem, still conscious, though his sight was wholly gone. They told him Winsnow had come, (as they generally substituted *n* for the English *l*.) ‘Let me speak with him then,’ he replied, ‘Let me speak one word to him.’ Winslow now went forward to the matted platform where he lay, and grasped the feeble hand which the sachem, informed of his approach, held out for him. ‘Art thou Winsnow?’ he whispered the question again, (in his own language,) ‘Art thou Winsnow?’ Being readily answered in the affirmative, he appeared satisfied of the fact. But ‘O Winsnow,’ added he mournfully, ‘I shall never see thee again!’ Hobamock was now called, and desired to assure the sachem of the Governor’s kind remembrance of him in his present situation, and to inform him of the articles they had brought with them for his use. He immediately signified his wish to taste of these; and they were given him accordingly, to the great delight of the people around him. Winslow then proceeded to use measures for his relief, which wrought a great change in the sachem within half an hour. He recovered his sight gradually, and began to converse, requesting his good friend Winslow, among other things, to kill him a fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had seen at Plymouth. This was done for him, and such other care taken as restored his strength and appetite wonderfully within the day or two of Winslow’s stay. His expressions of gratitude, as well as those of his delighted attendants, were constant, as they were evidently warm from the heart. Finally, as his guests were about to leave him, he called Hobamock to his side, and revealed to him a plot against the colonists, recently formed, as he understood, among certain of the Massachusetts tribes, and in which he had himself been invited to join. He also recommended certain summary measures for the suppression of the plot, and concluded with charging Hobamock to communicate all these things to Winslow on the way to Plymouth. It may be added here, that these measures were subsequently executed by Standish, and were successful. The conspiracy itself was occasioned by the notorious and outrageous profligacy of the banditti of ‘Master Weston,’ at Weymouth.

The leading particulars in the residue of Massasoit’s life, may

soon be detailed. In 1632, he was assaulted at Sowams, by a party of Narragansetts, and obliged to take refuge in an English house. His situation was soon ascertained at Plymouth, and an armed force being promptly despatched to his succor, under his old friend Standish, the Narragansetts retired. About the year 1639, he probably associated his eldest son Moanam or Wamsutta, with him in the government; for they came together into open court at Plymouth, it is said, on the 28th of September of that year, and desired that the ancient treaty of 1621 might remain inviolable. They also entered into some new engagements, chiefly going to secure to the Colony a pre-emptive claim to the Pokanoket lands. 'And the whole court,' add the records, 'in the name of the whole government for each town respectively, did then likewise ratify and confirm the aforesaid ancient league and confederacy.' From this time, the names of the father and son are sometimes found united, and sometimes not so, in instruments by which land was conveyed to the English. In 1649, the former sold the territory of Bridgewater in his own name. 'Witnes these presents,' says the deed, 'that I, Ousamequin, sachem of the contrie of Pocanauket, have given, granted, enfeofed, and sould unto Myles Standish,' &c. This is subscribed by the peculiar mark of the sachem, and another paragraph is then signed by Standish and two others, binding them 'to pay unto the said Ousamequin, for and in consideration of the said tract of land, as followeth, viz. seven coats, a yard and half in a coat, nine hatchets, eight hoes, twenty knives, four moose-skins, ten yards and a half of cotton.' Four years after this, the father and son *jointly* conveyed certain lands in the neighborhood of their own residence, for the stated consideration of thirty-five pounds. From the proviso in this case, that entry should take place whenever the resident Indians might choose to remove, some idea may be formed of the nature of their own authority and property. This was one of the last recorded acts of Massasoit, for it seems to be generally agreed, that he died about the year 1656, at which time he must have been more than seventy years of age. The colonists speak of him forty-five years previous, it will be remembered, as in the full stature of his best years.

Such are the few and simple passages, which history has preserved of the life of the earliest and best friend of the colonists; and few and simple as they are, they give glimpses

of a character that, under other circumstances, might have placed Massasoit among the illustrious of his age. He was a mere untutored savage ; ignorant of the simple arts of reading and writing, even after an intercourse of near fifty years with the colonists ; and distinguished from the mass of savages around him, as we have seen, by no other outward emblem than a barbarous ornament of bones. It must be observed, too, as to them, that the authority which they conferred upon him, or rather upon his ancestors, was their free gift, and was liable at any moment to be retracted, wholly or in part, either by the general voice or by the defection or violence of individuals. The intrinsic dignity and energy of his character alone, therefore, must have sustained the dominion of the sachem, with no essential distinction or division of wealth, retinue, cultivation, or situation in any respect, between him and the meanest of the Wampanoags. The naked qualities of his intellect and his heart must have gained their loyalty, controlled their extravagant passions to his own purposes, and won upon their personal confidence and affection. That he did this appears from the fact, so singular in Indian history, that among all the Pokanoket tribes, there was scarcely an instance of even an individual broil or quarrel with the English during his long life. Some of these tribes, living nearer the Colony than any other Indians, and going into it daily in such numbers, that Massasoit was finally requested to restrain them from ‘pestering’ their friends by their mere multitude,—these shrewd beings must have perceived, as well as Massasoit himself did, that the colonists were as miserably fearful as they were feeble and few. Some of them, too,—the sachem Corbitant, for example,—were notoriously hostile, and perhaps had certain supposed reasons for being so. Yet this cunning and ambitious savage extricated himself from the only overt act of rebellion he is known to have attempted, by ‘soliciting the good offices of Massasoit,’ we are told, ‘to reconcile him to the English.’ And such was the influence of the chief sachem, not only over him, but over the Massachusetts sachems, that nine of the principal of them soon after came into Plymouth from great distances, for the purpose of signifying their humble respect for the authority of the English. That Massasoit was beloved as well as respected by his subjects and neighbors, far and wide, appears from the great multitude of anxious friends who thronged about him during his sickness. Some of them,

as Winslow ascertained, had come more than one hundred miles for the purpose of seeing him; and they all watched *his* operations in that case, with as intense anxiety as if the prostrate patient had been the father or the brother of each. And meagre as is the justice which history does the sachem, it still furnishes some evidence, not to be mistaken, that he had won this regard from them by his kindness. There is a passage of affecting simplicity in Winslow's Relation, going to show that he did not forget their minutest interests, even in his own almost unconscious helplessness. 'That morning,' it is said, 'he caused me to spend in going from one to another among those that were sick in the town [Sowams]; requesting me to treat them as I had him, and to give to each of them some of the same I gave him, *saying they were good folk.*'

But these noble traits of the character of Massasoit are still more abundantly illustrated by the whole tenor of his intercourse with the whites. Of his mere sense of his positive obligations to them, including his fidelity to the famous treaty of 1621, nothing more need be said, excepting that the annals of the continent furnish scarcely one parallel even to that case. But he went much farther than this. He not only visited the Colony in the first instance of his own free will and accord, but he entered into the negotiations cheerfully and deliberately; and in the face of their manifest fear and suspicion. Henceforth the results of it were regarded not with the mere honesty of an ally, but with the warm interest of a friend. It was probably at his secret and delicate suggestion,—and it could scarcely have been without his permission at all events,—that his own subjects took up their residence among the colonists, with the view of guiding, piloting, interpreting for them, and teaching them their own useful knowledge. Winslow speaks of his *appointing another* to fill the place of Squanto at Plymouth, while the latter should be sent about among the Pokanokets, under *his* orders, 'to procure truck [in furs] for the English. The vast grant of territory which he made in the first instance has been spoken of. It was made with the simple observation, that his claim to it was the sole claim in existence. It was also without consideration; the generous sachem, as Roger Williams says of the Narraghansetts in a similar case, 'being *shy and jealous of selling* the lands to any, and choosing rather to make a gift of them to such as they affected.' Such is the only jealousy which Massasoit can be said ever to have

entertained of the English. Nor do we find any evidence that he repented of this liberality, or considered it the incautious extravagance of a moment of flattered complaisance. We do find, however, that he invariably watched over the interest of the grantees, with more strictness than he would probably have watched over his own. He laid claim, in one instance, it seems, to a tract for which Mr. Williams had negotiated with the Narraghansetts,—that gentleman being ignorant, perhaps, of an existing controversy between the two tribes. ‘It is mine,’ said the sachem, ‘It is mine, and *therefore theirs*,’—plainly implying that the ground in question was comprised within the original transfer. Whether this claim was just, or whether it was insisted upon, does not appear; but there is indication enough, both of the opinion and feeling of Massasoit. An anecdote of him, recorded by Governor Winthrop, under the title of a ‘pleasant passage,’ is still more striking. His old friend *Winsnow*, it seems, made a trading voyage to Connecticut, during the summer of 1634. On his return, he left his vessel upon the Narraghansett coast, for some reason or other, and commenced his journey for Plymouth across the woods. Finding himself at a loss, probably, as to his route, he made his way to Sowams, and called upon his ancient acquaintance, the sachem. The latter gave him his usual kind welcome, and, upon his leaving him, offered to conduct him home,—a pedestrian journey of two days. He had just despatched one of his Wampanoags to Plymouth, with instructions to inform the friends of Winslow, that he was dead, and to persuade them of this melancholy fact, by specifying such particulars as their own ingenuity might suggest. All this was done accordingly; and the tidings occasioned, as might be expected, a very unpleasant excitement throughout the Colony. In the midst of it, however, on the next day, the sachem entered the village, attended by Winslow, and with more than his usual complacency in his honest and cheerful countenance. He was asked why such a report had been circulated the day previous. ‘That Winsnow might be the more welcome,’ answered he, ‘and that you might be the more happy,—it is my custom.’ He had come thus far to enjoy this surprise personally; and he returned homeward, more gratified by it, without doubt, than he would have been by the most fortunate foray among the Narraghansetts.

It is intimated by some writers, rather more frequently than

is either just or generous, that the sachem's fear of the tribe just named lay at the foundation of his friendship. It might have been nearer the apparent truth, considering all that is known of Massasoit, to say, that his interest happened to coincide with his inclination. At all events, it was in the power of any other of the sachems or kings throughout the country, to place and sustain themselves upon the same footing with the colonists, had they been prompted either by as much good feeling or good sense. On the contrary, the Massachusetts were plotting and threatening on one hand, as we have seen,—not without provocation, it must be allowed,—while the Narragansett sachem, upon the other, had sent in his compliments as early as 1622, in the shape of a bundle of arrows, tied up with a rattlesnake's skin. Nor should we forget the wretched feebleness of the Colony at the period of their first acquaintance with Massasoit. Indeed, the instant measures which he took for their relief and protection, look more like the promptings of compassion, than of either hope or fear. A month previous to his appearance among them, they were reduced to such a pitiable condition by sickness, that only six or seven men of their whole number were able to do business in the open air; and probably their entire fighting force, could they have been mustered together, would scarcely have equalled that little detachment which Massasoit brought with him into the village, delicately leaving twice as many, with the arms of all, behind him; as he afterwards exchanged six hostages for one. No wonder that the Colonists 'could not yet conceive but that he was willing to have peace with them.'

But the motives of the sachem are still further manifested by the sense of his own dignity, which, peaceable as he generally was, he showed promptly upon all suitable occasions. Both the informal grant and the formal deeds we have mentioned, indicate that he understood himself to be the master of his ancestral territory as much in right as in fact. There is nothing in his whole history, which does more honor to his intelligence or his sensibility, than his conduct occasioned by the falsehoods circulated among the Colonists against him by Squanto. His first impulse, as we have seen, was to be offended with the guilty intriguer; the second, to thank the Governor for appealing to himself in this case, and to assure him that he would at any time 'send word and give warning when any such business was towards.' On further inquiry,

he ascertained that Squanto was taking even more liberties with his reputation than he had been aware of. He went forthwith to Plymouth, and made his appeal personally to the Governor. The latter pacified him as well as he could, and he returned home. But a very short time had elapsed before a message came from him, *entreating* the Governor to consent to the death of the renegade who still abused him. The Governor confessed in reply, that Squanto deserved death, but desired that he might be spared on account of his indispensable services. Massasoit was not yet satisfied. The former messenger was again sent, 'with divers others,' says Winslow in his Relation, '*demanding* him, [Squanto] as being one of Massasoit's subjects, whom by our first articles of peace we could not retain; yet because he would not willingly do it [insist upon his rights] without the Governor's approbation, he offered him many beaver-skins for his consent thereto.' The deputation had brought these skins, accordingly, as also the sachem's own knife, for the execution of the criminal. Squanto now surrendered himself to the Governor; as an Indian always resigns himself to his fate upon similar occasions; but the Governor still contrived a pretext for sparing him. The deputies were 'mad with rage and impatient of delay,' as may be supposed, and departed in great heat. The conduct of the sachem in this case was manifestly more correct than that of his ally. He understood as well as the Governor did, the spirit of the articles in the treaty, which provided, that an offender upon either side should be given up to punishment upon demand; and he was careful to make that demand personally, explicitly and respectfully. The Governor, on the other hand, as well as the culprit himself, acknowledged the justice of it, but manœuvred to avoid compliance. The true reason is no doubt given by Winslow. It is also given in the language of John Smith. 'With much adoe,' says the honest Captain, 'we appeased the angry king and the rest of the salvages, and freely forgaue TUSQUANTUM, *because he speaking our language we could not be well without him.*' The king was angry, then, as he well might be; and the Governor took the trouble, he was both bound and interested to take, to appease him. It is not to be wondered at, perhaps, that the particulars of this transaction are so little dwelt upon by the writers of that period. Winslow barely states,—speaking, in another connexion, of the Indians being evidently aware of the weakness of the

Colony,—that, what was worse, ‘now also Massasoit seemed to frown upon us, and neither came nor sent to us as formerly.’ This passage is no less significant than brief; but not more so than a subsequent dry observation respecting Squanto, ‘whose peace, before this time, (the fall of the same year) *was wrought with Massasoit.*’

Such were the life and character of Massasoit. It is to be regretted, that so few particulars are preserved of the former, and that so little justice, consequently, can be done to the latter. But so far as his history goes, it certainly makes him one of the most remarkable men of his race. There is no nobler instance in all history, of national fidelity, (for which he mainly must have the credit,) or of individual friendship. This instinct of a generous nature in the first instance, being confirmed by a course of conduct generally alike creditable to the feelings and shrewdness of the Colonists, finally settled itself in the mind of Massasoit as ineradicably as his affection for his own subjects. ‘I know now,’ said he to Winslow, on his first recovery from the severe sickness we have mentioned, ‘I *know* that the English love me,—I love them,—I shall never forget them.’ But putting even the most unnatural construction upon the professions and the conduct of the sachem, the relation he commenced and for forty-five years sustained with the English, must be allowed to show at least a consummate sagacity. He certainly succeeded during all this time, not only in shielding his tribes from their just or unjust hostility, but in gaining their respect to such a singular degree, that the writings of no single author within our recollection furnish one word to his disparagement. Even Hubbard speaks of him with something like regard; notwithstanding the obnoxious trait in his character indicated in the following passage. ‘It is very remarkable,’ he says, ‘that this Woosamequin, how much soever he affected the English, was never in the least degree well affected to their religion.’ It is added furthermore, that in his last treaty with the whites at Swanzeey, —referring to the sale of land which we have mentioned,—he exerted himself to bind them solemnly ‘never to draw away any of his people from their old pagan superstition and devilish idolatry to the Christian religion.’ This he insisted on, it is added, until they threatened to break off the negotiation on account of his pertinacity, and he then gave up the point.

Massasoit did not distinguish himself as a warrior; nor is

he known to have been once engaged in any open hostilities, even with the inimical and powerful tribes who environed his territory. This is another unique trait in his character ; and considering the general attachment of all Indians to a belligerent life, their almost exclusive deference for warlike qualities, the number and scattered location of the Pokanoket tribes, and especially the character of their ancient neighbors, this very fact is alone sufficient to distinguish the genius of Massasoit. All the native nations of New-England, but his, were involved in dissensions and wars with each other and with the whites ; and they all shared sooner or later the fate which he avoided. The restless ringleaders who plotted mischief among the Massachusetts, were summarily knocked upon the head by Miles Standish, while hundreds of the residue fled, and miserably perished in their own swamps. The Pequots,—a nation who could muster 3000 bow-men but a short time previous,—were nearly exterminated in 1637. The savages of Maine, meanwhile, the Mohawks of New-York, the Narragansetts and the Mohegans were fighting and reducing each others' strength, as if their only object had been, by ultimately extirpating themselves, to prepare a way in the wilderness for the new comers.

Massasoit was succeeded in the Pokanoket government by his eldest son, Moanam, alias Wamsutta, known to the English chiefly by the name of Alexander, as his younger brother was by the name of Philip. The two young men came together into court, at Plymouth, in 1656, as their father had done before them ; and, professing great regard for the Colonists, requested that English names might be given them. Little more than this is known of Alexander, excepting that he died in 1662, after a reign of six years. He had the merit of preserving the friendship of the Colony during this time ; and that, it seems, without showing any greater disposition than Massasoit had done, or than Philip did afterwards, to be either civilized or christianized, or to suffer his subjects to be so. Hubbard takes the liberty to say, that he had neither affection for the Englishmen's persons, nor yet for their religion. He adds also, that he plotted with the Narragansetts against the English. As this rumor led to his death, and is at all events of some consequence to his reputation, it is natural to examine into the grounds upon which it was founded. Hubbard barely observes, that the Governor and Council were informed of the

fact. Mather states, with no more particularity, that the sachem solicited the Narragansetts to rebel with him ; upon *the good proof whereof*, the Plymouth Government adopted certain summary measures. From other sources we find, that this proof was communicated by letters from Boston, where it was probably founded upon rumors gathered from straggling Indians. At all events, no conclusive testimony appears in the case ; and it may be plausibly surmised, therefore, that none was ever received, the writers just cited not being remarkably prone to omit matters of this kind. The rumor might originate from circumstances really suspicious ; but were this true, and far more, if it were both false and malicious, like the charges against Massasoit, we may well question both the justice and the policy of the steps taken by the Plymouth Government.

‘ They presently sent for him, to bring him to the court,’ says Hubbard,—a very remarkable proceeding, related with a corresponding brevity. The business was intrusted, it also appears, to a gentleman who was neither afraid of danger, nor yet willing to delay in a matter of this moment. We are then told that this gentleman, Mr. Winslow, forthwith taking eight or ten stout men with him, well armed, set out for Sowams ; that he fortunately met with Alexander, at a few miles’ distance, in a wigwam with eighty of his followers ; that they seized upon the arms of the party, which had been left without the wigwam, and then went in and summoned the sachem to attend them to Plymouth. He obeyed, reluctantly, being threatened that ‘ if he *stirred* or refused to go, he was a dead man.’ Such was his spirit, however, adds Hubbard, that the very surprisal of him threw him into a fever. Upon this, he requested liberty to return home, and the favor was granted to him upon certain conditions ; but he died upon the way.

This account agrees with Mather’s. ‘ The Government sent that valiant and excellent commander,’ says the Reverend Doctor, ‘ to fetch him down before them. The major-general used such expedition and resolution in this affair, that, assisted with no more than ten men, he seized upon Alexander at a hunting-house, notwithstanding his numerous attendants about him ; and when the raging sachem saw a pistol at his breast, with a threatening of death to him if he did not quietly yield himself up to go down to Plymouth, he yielded, though not very quietly, thereunto.’ Mather attributes his death, further-

more, to the 'inward fury of his own guilty and haughty mind.' Now, even if the sachem were not compelled to travel faster or further than was decent in his unfortunate situation, as one of our authorities is careful to argue; and granting to the other, that he was treated (on the march) with no other than that humanity and civility, *which was essential to the Major-General,** it is abundantly clear, we conceive, that a more hot-blooded or high-handed measure could hardly have been executed by the adventurous John Smith himself. The son of Massasoit, and the ruler of a nation who had been forty years in alliance and warm friendship with the Colonists, throughout all their feebleness, and in spite of all jealousies and provocations,—was assaulted in his own territory and among his own subjects, insulted, threatened, and finally forced to obey a summons of his ancient ally to appear before *his* court for his trial. It does not appear that he was even apprised of the occasion which required his attendance. And what is worse than all the rest, the whole proceeding was founded, so far as we ascertain, upon no better testimony than accusations gathered from stragglers at Boston, and then communicated 'by letters' to Plymouth. It must be admitted, that a different coloring is put upon this affair by the Rev. Mr. Cotton, whose relation may be found among the excellent notes appended to Mr. Davis's recent edition of Morton. He states, that the sachem readily consented to attend Winslow; and that he was barely examined before certain justices at Eastham, and dismissed. This account, however, does not much mitigate the essential circumstances of the case; and it admits the fact, that the sachem died within two or three days after being carried home on the shoulders of his men, although the English party seem to have found him in perfect health.

Such was the ignominious death of Alexander, and under such circumstances did the government devolve upon his brother Metacom,—or Philip, as he is generally called,—who seems to have assumed the Pokanoket government, favored by a more than usual popularity; for the event is said to have been celebrated by the rejoicing and revelry of multitudes of his subjects, sachems and others, gathered together, from the remotest limits of his territory. One of his earliest measures,

* Among other civilities, he was offered the use of a horse on the journey, and declined that favor on the ground that some of his women, in the company, were obliged to walk; a fine trait of savage politeness.

was to appear with his uncle before the Plymouth Court, following the example of his father and brother. He expressed an earnest wish for the continuance of peace and amity ; and pledged himself,—as the Court did also upon the other hand,—to use all suitable measures for effecting that desirable purpose. For several years after this, the intercourse between the two parties went on, ostensibly, as it had done in former times, though probably not without some distrust upon both sides.

The first public interruption of this harmony occurred in 1671, during which season, Philip was heard to complain openly, of certain encroachments by the English upon his hunting-grounds. About the same time, rumors were circulated that his subjects frequently assembled at various places in unwonted numbers ; and were repairing their guns, and sharpening their hatchets. The Plymouth Government were alarmed. They sent messengers to communicate with the Massachusetts Government, and at the same time other messengers to Philip, not ‘to fetch him before the Court,’ as in the case of his brother, but to ascertain his intentions. He seems to have paid a dignified regard to this measure, for, upon the 13th of April, a message was received from him, inviting the officers of the Plymouth Government to a conference. It was received by the latter at Taunton, where also were several gentlemen, despatched by the Massachusetts Government, with instructions to mediate between the contending parties. Governor Prince, of Plymouth, sent word back to Philip,—who was tarrying meanwhile at what is now called Three-mile-river, about four miles from Taunton green,—that he was heartily disposed to treat with him, and expected that the sachem would come forward for that purpose ; and his personal safety was guaranteed in case he should do so. Philip so far complied with this request, as to advance a considerable distance nearer the village. He then stationed himself at a place called Crossman’s mill, placed sentinels on a hill in his rear, and again despatched messengers to the Governor, desiring an interview. This, the town’s-people, who could scarcely be restrained from falling forthwith upon the Indian party, would not permit. At last, the Massachusetts Commissioners, volunteering to take the supposed hazard upon themselves, went to Philip, and persuaded him to consent to a conference. This was on condition that his men should accompany him ; and that the business should be done at the meeting-house, one side of

which was to be reserved for the Wampanoags, and the other for the English.

The council took place agreeably to these shrewd arrangements, in the old meeting-house of Taunton. The English stood upon one side, solemn and stern in countenance, as they were formal in garb ; and opposite to them, a line of Indian warriors, armed and arrayed for battle, their long black hair hanging about their necks, and their eyes gleaming covertly with a flame of suspicion and defiance, scarcely to be suppressed. Philip alone was their orator. He denied that he entertained any hostile design ; and promptly explained his preparations for war, as intended for defence against the Narragansetts. The Commissioners rejoined, however, with such arguments and evidence as satisfied themselves and completely surprised him. At least, he affected to admit all that was alleged against him ; and though he refused to give compensation for past aggressions, he gave up the muskets of his warriors, to the number of seventy, and with some of his counsellors, subscribed a humble confession of his unfaithfulness, and a solemn renewal of the ancient covenant. This was probably a mere artifice to gain time ; nor had it apparently any other effect in reference to impending hostilities, than to hasten them by increasing the ill-will of the Indians. But whether Philip was preparing for war or not, he was not yet prepared for it. He went to Boston, therefore, during the month of August, knowing the Massachusetts Government to be more friendly to him than the Plymouth ; and although letters had arrived that very day from the latter place, announcing an intention of declaring war against Philip forthwith, the cunning sachem had the art to persuade the Boston Commissioners of his entire innocence. They sent a proposal to Plymouth for a new council to settle all difficulties. This being declined, they immediately gave their opinion that Plymouth would not be justified in making war. Staggered by this declaration, the Government of the Old Colony consented to try the effect of a second mediation ; and a conference of all parties soon after took place at Plymouth. Here Philip and his counsellors signed an agreement, which, so far as a mere agreement of his could go under present circumstances, must have been satisfactory. The concessions contained in it, indeed, are sufficient to throw no little doubt over the motives of Philip ; for he acknowledged himself subject to

the English Government; promised to apply to the Governor of Plymouth personally, in case of any complaint; and was meanwhile to pay a hundred pounds *in such things as he had*, besides sending in what may be called a *tribute* of five wolves' heads yearly.

The success of this stratagem, if such it were, answered the purpose of the sachem as completely as he could have expected; for although he does not appear to have killed one wolf, or paid one cent, even 'in such things as he had,' nothing occurred for three years, to rouse the suspicions of the Colonies. There can scarcely be a doubt, that during all this time,—if not for a longer time previous,—the sachem was maturing one of the grandest plans ever conceived by any savage;—that of utterly exterminating the English of the northern provinces. This, he was well aware, could only be done by means commensurate with the danger and difficulty of the enterprise. The Colonies were no longer the feeble and timid allies, known fifty years before to his father. They had grown in numbers and in strength; and still more in experience and spirit. Nothing less, in a word, than a general union of the New-England tribes, who lived among and around them all, would furnish a safe guarantee for the complete success of such a war as was now meditated. To this great preparation, then, the whole energies of Philip must be devoted. It was as difficult, he well knew, as it was desirable. The ruler of one small confederacy,—already suspected, and constantly under the close scrutiny of his powerful neighbors,—he must take measures with his own passionate and provoked followers, as he must in his own bosom, at once to check hostility for the present, and to cherish it for the future. Far more than this, he must unite and interest in one common object, a multitude of scattered nations who had met and known each other, until this time, only in jealousy, envy, revenge, and in many cases hereditary and inveterate war; and among whose councils no similar plan, for any purpose whatever, had ever been conceived of. How far Philip surmounted these obstacles, will be seen. The great train of events we are approaching, are so interesting both as a passage of general history, and still more, as they implicate and illustrate the character of Philip, that it may be proper to take some notice of the causes which gave rise to them. It is well known, that his English contemporaries looked upon him, very generally, with

feelings far from benevolent. It was natural under the circumstances that they should do so; but it is no more necessary, than it is philosophical or just, on the other hand, to confide implicitly either in their opinions or their statements. Philip and his Wampanoags are unlucky enough, like the lion in the fable, to have no painter.

It should be observed here, that Philip unquestionably considered himself an ally and not a subject of the English;—at least, until his nominal submission in 1671. Even the same authorities who record this submission, speak of his *renewing* his ancient covenant, (as indeed the instrument itself shows.) A distinct article recognizes Massasoit as an independent sovereign. Philip, then, held the same relation to the English, that his father and brother had done for the fifty years, during which the two parties had treated and associated upon equal and intimate terms. He was bound by the same engagements, and possessed of the same rights; and it only remains to be seen, if due regard was paid to these circumstances upon either side.

Now, we look upon the assault of Alexander, in 1662, in the first place, as not only a sufficient cause of suspicion and resentment, but of war; and that, upon the best construction which can be put upon the most favorable of the *ex-parte* relations which appear upon record. By the old treaty itself, which Alexander also took the gratuitous trouble to *renew*,—and without any reference to courtesy or humanity, or to national fidelity, or to personal friendship, existing up to this date,—the English were bound generally to treat him as an allied sovereign, and especially to make a preliminary demand of satisfaction, in all cases of complaint. We have seen that the charge brought against him in 1662,—vague and unsupported as it was,—was not even explained to the sachem, previously to his being taken from his own territory by an armed force, and carried before an English Justice of the Peace. In no other instance does the Plymouth Colony seem to have exercised an authority of this nature, even over the meanest subjects of the sachem. ‘Inasmuch as complaint is made, that many Indians pass into divers places of this jurisdiction,’ say the records of the Colony for 1660, ‘it is enacted that no strange or foreign Indians be permitted to become residents, and “that notice be given to the several sagamores to prevent the same.”’ A remark might be made upon the policy of laws like these, so far

as the Pokanokets were concerned ; as also of the acts of 1652 and 1653, which prohibited the sale of casks, barques, boats and horses, to the Indians, besides providing a punishment for such of them, resident in the Colony, as should violate the Christian sabbath, or discharge their guns in the night-time. But these regulations the Government had an undoubted right to make, as Massasoit and Philip had possessed a right,—which, however, they were complaisant enough to relinquish,—of selling their own lands to purchasers of their own choosing.

Such was the state of things previous to the submission of 1671. With regard to this, it is quite clear that, even if Philip were made to understand the instrument, which it is well known he could not read, he could look upon it only as an insult, imposed upon him under circumstances amounting to duress. Independently of any force, too, he must have thought himself justified, by the manifest disposition and the summary measures of the English, in availing himself of any stratagem to lull suspicion and to gain time. He might or might not, at this period or before, have meditated acting offensively against them, in revenge of the indignity suffered by his brother and his nation ; but it was certainly both prudent and patriotic in him, to put himself on the defensive. He had a right, it appears to us, both to drill his own people in martial exercises, and to make alliances with his Indian neighbors.

It might have been a safe policy in the Plymouth Government, to have considered these things, in regard at least to what they might call the jealous and barbarous prejudices of the Indians, before proceeding to extremities with either Alexander or Philip. On the contrary, while they enacted laws, and encouraged accusations, and took the execution of the penalty of them into their own hands, they used no means to conciliate Philip, but sending for him to appear before ‘the Plymouth Court.’ Whether they were cautious in all other respects after this time to avoid offence, it is not to be expected that history should enable us to determine. We find, however, that certain of the Colonists, in 1673, took upon them to negotiate treaties for land with private subjects of Philip ; and there is no reason to doubt, that they entered and took possession accordingly. As the sachems are known to have been as tenacious of their territory in claim, as they were liberal of it in disposal, it may well be conceived that this first instance of a similar nature upon record, should occasion Philip no little

dissatisfaction. In imitation of the English courtesy, he might have despatched Nimrod, Tobias, Woonkaponcunt, or some other of his 'valiant and excellent' majors-general to 'fetch down' the offending grantees to Sowams. He seems to have taken no express notice of the affair. But that he understood his territorial rights, is apparent from the singular communication which follows. It is preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, (volume second of the first series,) as precisely copied from the original, which is still preserved at Plymouth.

'King Philip desire to let you understand that he could not come to the Court, for Tom, his interpreter, has a pain in his back, that he could not travel so far, and Philip sister is very sik.

'Philip would intreat that favor of you, and aney of the magistrates if aney *English or Engians speak about aney land*, he pray you to give *them no answer at all*. This last summer he made that promise with you, that he would not sell no land in 7 years time, *for that he would have no English trouble him before that time*, he has not forgot that you promis him.

'He will come as soon as possible as he can to speak with you, and so I rest, you very loving friend, Philip, dwelling at mount hope nek.'

This unique letter is addressed 'To the much honored Governer, Mr. Thomas Prince, dwelling at Plymouth.' As Philip himself could neither read nor write, the honor of the orthography and construction must be attributed to the infirm interpreter. But the sentiments are worthy of the sachem himself, and they certainly manifest a mingled civility and independence which do him great credit. No date is affixed to the letter. If it do not refer to the transaction just mentioned, it was probably prompted by some other of the same description. The interest which the sachem felt in cases of this kind, is apparent from one of his own conveyances, made in 1668. It was of a tract included within the present limits of Rochester, upon the sea-shore. He drafted an accurate plan of it with his own hand, (still preserved upon the records of the Old Colony) and forwarded it to the Court, with the following explanation.

'This may inform the honorable Court,' we read, 'that I, Philip, am willing to sell the land within this draught, but the Indians that are upon it may live upon it still; but the land that is mine that is sold, and Watashpoo is of the same mind.

I have put down all the principal names of the land we are now willing should be sold.' Watashpoo was probably one of the occupants, chiefly interested in the case. The letter ends thus ; 'Know all Men by these Presents, That Philip has given power unto Watashpoo, and Sampson, and their brethren, to hold and make sale of said land to whom they will,' &c. This letter must have been sent in compliance with some request from his Plymouth friends. It is dated at Pocanauket ; subscribed by the capital P, which was the sachem's mark ; and attested, and no doubt written, by his secretary, John Sassamon.

This Sassamon is distinguished in history as having been the immediate occasion of the first open hostilities. He was born in some family of praying Indians, and after receiving a tolerable education at Cambridge and other places, was employed as a school-master at Natick. The composition above cited rather supports Hubbard's remark, that he was a 'cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English language.' This writer says, that he left the English on account of some misdemeanor. Mather states, that 'apostatizing from the profession of Christianity, he lived like a heathen, in the quality of secretary to King Philip.' He adds, that he afterwards deserted the sachem, and gave such notable evidences of repentance, as to be employed in preaching among the Indians at Natick, under the eye of his old instructor, the venerable Eliot. This was another of the provocations which must have annoyed Philip. Hubbard states expressly, that Sassamon was importunately urged to forsake him ; and it appears from other sources, that there had previously been such an entire confidence between the two, that the Secretary was intrusted with all the secrets of his master. The provocation went still farther. Sassamon, either having or pretending to have some occasion to go among the Pokanokets frequently, availed himself of this opportunity to scrutinize their movements, and to report them as he thought proper to the English. In consequence of this, Philip and some of his subjects were 'examined,' we are told, but nothing definite was learned from them. Soon after, Sassamon disappeared ; and as he had expressed some well-founded fears of meeting with a violent death in the course of these manœuvres, his friends were alarmed. They commenced a search, and finally found his dead body in Assawomset pond, (in Middle-

borough) where a hole in the ice, through which he had been thrust, was still open, and his hat and gun left near by, as if he had drowned himself. 'Furthermore,' says Mather, 'upon the jealousies of the spirits of men that he might have met with some foul play, a jury was empanelled, unto whom it appeared that his neck was broken, *which is one Indian way of murdering.*' The next step of the Plymouth Government was to seize upon three Pokanoket Indians, on the testimony of a fourth, '*found,*' says Hubbard, '*by a strange providence.*' This man swore that he had seen the murder committed from a hill near the pond. It must be inferred that he swore to the identity of the prisoners, for it appears they were convicted from 'his undeniable testimony and other circumstances,' and forthwith hanged. Whatever may be said of the *legal*, the *moral* probability certainly is, that they were guilty. They were probably appointed to execute the judgment of Philip upon Sassamon, one of them being Tobias, a man of some distinction. At all events, Philip must have thought himself justified in taking this summary measure with a vagabond who was mean enough to avail himself, as Sassamon did, of being tolerated in *his* territory after having betrayed his confidence, and, apparently, for the very purpose of following up his own treason. But however this might be, the Colonists were but too ready, throughout these transactions, to believe any thing and every thing which supported a charge against Philip. One of the undeniable circumstances is, probably, stated by Mather. The dead body bled afresh, says the Doctor, on the approach of Tobias, 'yea, upon the repetition of the experiment, it still happened so,' albeit he had been deceased and interred for a considerable while before. This is truly remarkable.

It is universally agreed, that from this time Philip took no great pains either to conceal his own hostility, or to check that of his subjects. It would be incredible that he should. He remembered what had happened to his brother in a much more peaceable period; and, as several historians intimate, he must actually have apprehended 'the danger his own head was in next.' The Pokanokets mustered around him from all quarters, and every preparation was made for the impending crisis. This is supposed to have been prematurely brought on, indeed, by *their* ungovernable fury. They had not all the power of enduring provocation with the reservation of revenge;

and a party of them expressed their feelings so intolerably, just after the execution of their three countrymen, that a Swanzey man discharged his musket at one of them and wounded him. This was the commencement of hostilities, June 24th, 1675. 'So that now,' in the words of the reverend annalist last cited, 'war was begun by a fierce nation of Indians upon an honest, harmless, Christian generation of English, who might very truly have said unto the aggressors, as it was of old said unto the Ammonites, *I have not sinned against thee, but thou doest me wrong to war against me.*' Such was the persuasion, we suppose, of a large majority of the contemporary countrymen of the learned divine.

The war was now promptly undertaken, at all events. A letter was sent to Philip, in the month of June, which, of course, did no good; applications were also made to the Massachusetts Government for immediate assistance; forces were raised and stationed throughout the Colony; and matters very soon after proceeded to a length which made compromise or conciliation impossible. We do not intend to give the well-known particulars of this celebrated war. It is sufficient to observe, that it was carried on for more than a year with a violence, and amid an excitement unparalleled, perhaps, in the history of the country; and that it terminated with the death of Philip, late in the season of 1676. The result of it was decisive, as the sachem was well aware that it would be, of the fate of the New England Indians. The Pokanokets were nearly exterminated. The Narragansetts lost about one thousand of their number in the celebrated swamp-fight at Sunke-Squaw. All the Indians on the Connecticut river, and most of the Nipmucks who survived, fled to Canada, (where they were subsequently of great service to the French) and a few hundreds took refuge in New York. The English detachment of Captain Church alone, are estimated to have killed about seven hundred between June and October of 1676. Large numbers of those who were captured were sent out of the country, and sold as slaves. But the triumph of the conqueror was dearly bought. The whole fighting force of the four Colonies seems to have been almost constantly in requisition. Between one and two thousand men were engaged at the swamp-fight alone,—an immense force for a population of scarcely forty thousand English throughout New England. Thirteen towns were entirely destroyed by the enemy; six hundred dwelling-houses

burned ; and about the same number of Englishmen killed, so that almost every family lost a relative. The mere expense of the war must have been very great ; for the Commissioners of the United Colonies afterwards estimated the disbursements of the Old Colony alone, at more than one hundred thousand pounds.

Such was the war King Philip sustained and managed, upon his side, by his own single-handed energy and talent. Not that the sixty Wampanoags of the sachem's own household, as it were, or even the various tribes of the Pokanoket country, were his sole supporters ; but that all the other tribes, which supported him, did it in consequence of his influence, and were induced to unite and operate together, as they never had done before, under his control. Some writers have asserted, that he engaged the various Atlantic tribes as far south as Virginia to assist him ; but of this there is no proof, and it is rendered improbable by the great want of inter-communication among these tribes. Nor is it true, as other writers have stated, that all the natives of New England itself were involved with Philip. On the other hand, it was the most trying circumstance of the great struggle of the sachem, that he had not only to rely upon bringing and keeping together scores of petty cantons, as jealous of each other from time immemorial as so many Highland clans ; but he had to watch and resist, openly and secretly, all who would not join him, besides the multitudes who deserted, betrayed and opposed him. The New Hampshire tribes mostly withdrew from the contest. The praying Indians, of whom there were then thousands, either remained neutral, or like Sassamon turned against their own race. One of Philip's own tribes forsook him in his misfortunes ; and the Pequots and Mohegans of Connecticut kept the field against him from the very first day of the war to the last. It may be supposed, that some of these tribes were surprised, as Philip himself was, by the sudden breaking out of the war, a year before the time which had been fixed for it. This was occasioned by the proceedings in which Sassamon was concerned, and by the ungovernable fury of a few of the young warriors.

Philip is said to have wept at these tidings of the first outrage of the war. He relented, perhaps, savage as he was, at the idea of disturbing the long amity which his father had preserved ; but he may well have regretted, certainly, that being once forced upon the measure, he should enter the

battle-field unprepared for what he well knew must be the last, as it was the first, great contest between the red men and the whites. But the die was cast, and though Philip never smiled after that memorable hour just alluded to, his whole soul was bent upon the business before him. Day nor night, scarcely was there rest for his limbs or sleep for his eyes. His resources must have been feeble enough, had his plans, now embarrassed, succeeded to his utmost wish; but he girded himself, as it was, with a proud heart for the mortal struggle. The strength of his own dominions was about six hundred warriors, ready, and more than ready, long since, for the war-cry. The whole force of his old enemies, the Narraghansetts, was already engaged to him. He had negotiated, also, with the Nipmucks and the tribes on the Connecticut and farther west, and one after another, these were soon induced to join him. Nor was it six weeks from the first hostilities, before all the Indians along the coast of Maine, for a distance of two hundred miles, were eagerly engaged, in what Philip told them was the common cause of the race. That no arts might be left untried, even while the court were condemning his three subjects, he was holding a grand war-dance at Sowams, and mustering his tawny warriors around him from all quarters. Several tribes afterwards confessed to the English, that Philip had thus inveigled them into the war. And again, no sooner were his forces driven back upon the Connecticut-river tribes, about the first of September, 1675, than he enlisted new allies among *them*. The Hadley Indians, who had joined the English,—very likely at his instigation,—were suspected, and fled to him. Their Springfield neighbors, soon after, joined three hundred of Philip's men, in an attack upon that town; and thus the whole Nipmuck country was involved. In the course of the ensuing winter, the sachem is said to have visited the Mohawks in New York. Not succeeding in gaining their alliance by fair argument, he was desperate enough to kill some of their straggling young men in the woods, in such a manner that the blame would obviously be charged upon the English. But this stratagem was defeated, by the escape of one who had only been stunned by the sachem. The latter was obliged to take abrupt leave of his hosts; and from that time, they were among his worst enemies.

His situation during the last few months of the war, was so deplorable, and yet his exertions so well sustained, that we can

only look upon him with pity and admiration. His successes for some time past had been tremendous ; but the tide began to ebb. The whole power of the Colonies was in the field, aided by guides and scouting-parties of his own race. The Saconets, the subjects of a near relation of his own, enlisted under Church. Other tribes complained and threatened. Their territory, as well as his, had been over-run, their settlements destroyed, and their planting and fishing-grounds all occupied by the English. Those of them who were not yet hunted down, were day and night followed into swamps and forests, and reduced to live,—if they did not actually starve or freeze,—upon the least and worst food to be conceived of. Hundreds died of diseases incurred in this manner. ‘I have eaten horse,’ said one of these miserable wretches, ‘but now horse is eating me.’ Another informed Church, on one occasion, that about three hundred Indians had gone a long way to Swanzey, in the heat of the war, for the purpose of eating clams, and that Philip was soon to follow them. At another time, the valiant captain himself captured a large party. Finding it convenient to attack a second directly after, he bade the first wait for him, and join him at a certain rendezvous. The day after the skirmish, ‘they came to him as they were ordered,’ and he drove them all together, that very night, into Bridgewater *pound*, and set his Saconet soldiers to guard them. ‘Being well treated with victuals and drink,’ he adds, with great simplicity, ‘they had a merry night, and the prisoners laughed as loud as the soldiers ; *not being so treated for a long time before.*’ The mere physical sufferings of Philip, meanwhile, are almost incredible. It is by his hair-breadth escapes, indeed, that he is chiefly visible during the war. Occasionally, the English come close upon him ; he starts up, like the roused lion, plunges into the river or leaps the precipice ; and nothing more is seen of him for months. Only a few weeks after the war commenced, he was surrounded in the great Pocasset swamp, and obliged to escape from his vigilant enemies by rafting himself, with his best men, over the great Taunton river, while their women and children were left to be captured. On his return to the same neighborhood, the next season, a captive guided the English to his encampment. Philip fled in such haste as to leave his kettle upon the fire ; twenty of his comrades were overtaken and killed ; and he himself escaped to the swamp, precisely as he had

formerly escaped from it. Here his uncle was shot soon afterwards at his side. Upon the next day, Church, discovering an Indian seated on a fallen tree, made to answer the purpose of a bridge over the river, raised his musket and deliberately aimed at him. 'It is one of our own party,' whispered a savage, who crept behind him. Church lowered his gun, and the stranger turned his head. It was Philip himself, musing perhaps, upon the fate which awaited him. Church fired, but his royal enemy had already fled down the bank. He escaped from a close and bloody skirmish a few hours afterwards.

He was now a desolate and desperate man, the last prince of an ancient race, without subjects, without territory, accused by his allies, betrayed by his comrades, hunted like a spent deer by blood-hounds; in daily hazard of famishing, and with no shelter day or night for his head. All his chief counsellors and best friends had been killed. His brother was slain in the Pocasset swamp; his uncle was shot down at his own side; and his wife and only son were captured when he himself so narrowly escaped from the fire of Church. And could he have fled for the last time from the soil of his own country, he would still have found no rest or refuge. He had betaken himself once to a place between York and Albany; but even here, as Church says, the *Moohags* made a descent upon him and killed many of his men. His next kennelling-place was at the fall of Connecticut river, (above Deerfield,) where, some time after, 'Captain Turner found him, came upon him by night, killed a great many men, and frightened many more into the river, that were hunted down the falls and drowned.' He lost three hundred men at this time. They were in their encampments, asleep and unguarded. The English rushed upon them, and they fled in every direction, half-awakened, and crying out, 'Mohawks! Mohawks!'

We cannot better illustrate Philip's character, than by observing, that within a few days of this affair, he was collecting the remnants of the Narraghansetts and Nipmucks among the Wachuset hills, on the east side of the river; that they then made a descent upon Sudbury; 'met with and *swallowed up the valiant Captain Wadsworth and his company*;'* and many

* This strong expression of the Captain's may refer to the really savage treatment which the unfortunate prisoners met with in this case. We have it on the authority of Mather, at least, that those 'devils

other doleful desolations in those parts.' We also find, that Philip was setting parties to waylay Church, under his own worst circumstances; and that he came very near succeeding. He is thought to have been at the great swamp-fight in December, 1675; and to have led one thousand Indians against Lancaster on the ensuing 8th of February. In August of the former season, he made his appearance among the Nipmucks, in a swamp ten or twelve miles from Brookfield. 'They told him at his first coming,' said one of them who was taken captive, 'what they had done to the English at Brookfield [burning the town.]' *'Then he presented and gave to three sagamores, namely, John alias Apequinast, Quansanit, and Mawtamps, to each of them about a peck of unstrung wampum.'** Even so late as the month before the sachem's death, a negro, who had fought under him, informed the English of his design of attacking certain towns, being still able to muster something like a thousand men. In his last and worst days, he would not think of peace; and he killed with his own hand, upon the spot, the only Indian who ever dared to propose it. It was the brother of this man by whom he was himself soon after slain.

These are clear proofs, then, that Philip possessed a courage as noble as his intellect. Nor is there any doubt that history would have furnished a long list of his personal exploits, but that his situation compelled him to disguise as well as conceal himself. If any thing but his face had been known, there was nothing to prevent Church from shooting him, as we have seen. And universally influential as he was,—the master-spirit every where guiding, encouraging, soothing and rewarding,—it is a fact worthy of mention, that from the time of his first flight from Pocasset until a few weeks before his death, no Englishman could say, that he had either seen his countenance or heard his voice. Hence Church describes him as being always foremost in the flight. The price put upon his head, the fearful power which pursued him, the circumstance that

incarnate' inflicted a variety of tortures not necessary to be enlarged upon here; 'and so with exquisite, leisurely, horrible torments, roasted them out of the world.' *History of New England*, Book VII. p. 55. London Ed. 1702.

* Note to Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. Mather says, that these very Indians had covenanted by a formal treaty, a month before, that they would not assist Philip.

some of his own acquaintance were against him, and especially the vital importance of his life to his cause, all made it indispensable for him to adopt every stratagem of the wary and cunning warfare of his race.

We have said something of Philip's ideas of his own sovereign dignity. Hence the fate of Sassamon, and of the savage who proposed peace. There is a well settled tradition, that in 1665 he went over to the island of Nantucket, with the view of killing an Indian called John Gibbs. He landed on the west end, intending to travel along the shore, undiscovered, under the bank, to that part of the island where Gibbs resided. By some lucky accident, the latter received a hint of his approach, made his escape to the English settlement, and induced one Mr. Macy to conceal him. His crime consisted in speaking the name of some deceased relative of Philip (his brother, perhaps,) contrary to Indian etiquette in such cases provided. The English held a parley with the sachem, and all the money they were able to collect was barely sufficient to satisfy him for the life of the culprit. It was not a mere personal insult, but a violation of the reverence due from a subject to his king. It appears, that when he visited Boston, before the war, he succeeded in persuading the Government,—as, no doubt, was the truth of the case,—that notwithstanding the old league of his father, renewed by himself, or rather by force of it, he was still independent of Plymouth. 'These successive engagements were agreements of amity, and not of subjection any further, as he apprehended.' He then desired to see a copy of the treaty, and requested that one might be procured for him. He knew, he added, that the praying Indians had submitted to the English; but the Pokanokets had done no such thing, and were not subject. The letter of the Massachusetts to the Plymouth Government, written just after this interview with the sachem, is well worthy of notice. 'We do not understand,' say the former, 'how far he hath subjected himself to you; but the treatment you have given him, does not render him such a subject, as that, if there be not present answering to summons, there should presently be a proceeding to hostilities.' Philip had himself the same notion of a Plymouth summons; and yet either policy or good feeling induced him to visit the Plymouth Governor, in March, 1775, for the purpose of quieting the suspicions of the Colony; nothing was discovered against him, and he returned home. He maintained privately the

same frank but proud independence. He was opposed to Christianity as much as his father was, and would make no concessions upon that point. Possibly the remembrance of Sassamon might have rankled in his bosom, who, upon the venerable Eliot once undertaking to convert him, took one of his buttons between his fingers, and told him he cared no more for the Gospel than for that button. That he was generally more civil, however, may be inferred from Gookin's statement; 'I have heard him speak very good words, arguing that his conscience is convicted, &c.'* The sachem evidently made himself agreeable in this case.

Philip was far from being a mere barbarian in his manners and feelings. There is not an instance to be met with, of his having maltreated a captive in any way, even while the English were selling his own people as slaves abroad, or torturing and hanging them at home. The famous Mrs. Rowlandson speaks of meeting with him during her *doleful* captivity. He invited her to call at his lodge; and when she did so, bade her sit down, and asked her if she would smoke. On meeting her again, he requested her to make some garment for his child, and for this he paid her a shilling. He afterwards took the trouble of visiting her for the purpose of assuring her, that 'in a fortnight she should be her own mistress.' Her last interview, it must be allowed, shows his shrewdness to rather more advantage than his fair dealing. It was Indian stratagem in war time, however; and the half-clad sachem was at this very time living upon ground-nuts, acorns, and lily-roots. 'Philip,' we are informed, 'smelling the business, [her ransom,] called me to him, and asked me what I would give him to tell me some good news, and to speak a good word for me, that I might go home to-morrow. I told him I could not tell,—but any thing I had,—and asked him what he would have. He said two coats, and twenty shillings in money, half a bushel of seed-corn, and some tobacco. *I thanked him for his love, but I knew that good news as well as that crafty fox.*' It is probable he was amusing himself with this good woman, much as he did with the worthy Mr. Gookin; but at all events, there are no traces of malevolent feeling in these simple anecdotes. What is more striking, we find that when one James Brown, of Swanzey, brought him a letter from Plymouth, just before

* Historical Collections, Chapter VIII.

hostilities commenced, and the young warriors were upon the point of killing him, Philip interfered and prevented it, saying, that 'his father had charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown.' Accordingly, we find it recorded in Hubbard, that a little before *his* death, the old sachem had visited Mr. Brown, who lived not far from Montaup, and earnestly desired that the love and amity *he* had received, might be continued to the children. It was probably this circumstance, which induced Brown himself, to engage in his present hazardous enterprize, after an interval, probably, of some twenty years. Nor should we pass over the kindness of Philip to the Leonard family, who resided near Fowling Pond, in what is now Raynham. Philip, who wintered at Montaup,—for the convenience of fishing, perhaps,—was accustomed to spend the summer at a hunting-house, by this pond. There he became intimate with the Leonards, traded with them, and had his arms repaired by them frequently. On the breaking out of the war, he gave strict orders that these men should never be hurt, as they never were. And, indeed, it is a singular fact, that the whole town of Taunton,—as it then was,—remained entirely unmolested throughout the war, and amid all the ravages and massacres which daily took place upon its very borders. How much of provocation and humiliation he was himself enduring all this time, we have already seen. All his relations were killed or captured, and a price set upon his own life.

It is a matter of melancholy interest to know, that the sachem, wretched and hopeless as he had become in his last days, was still surrounded by a band of his faithful and affectionate followers. At the very moment of his fatal surprise by the English, he is said to have been telling them of his gloomy dreams,* and advising them to desert him and provide for their own safety. A few minutes after this, he was shot in attempting to escape from the swamp. An Englishman,—one Cook,—aimed at him, but his gun missed fire; the Indian who was stationed to watch at the same place, discharged *his*

* The violent prejudice existing against Philip, unmitigated even by his sufferings and death, appears singularly in a parenthetical surmise of Hubbard, 'whether the devil appeared to him that night in a dream, foreboding his tragical end, *it matters not.*' So Mather says, he was hung up like *Ahag*, after being shot through his 'venomous and murderous heart.' Church, generally an honorable and humane man, speaks of his fallen foe, in terms which we regard his reputation too much to repeat.

musket, and shot him through the heart. The news of this success was of course received with great satisfaction; Church says, that 'the whole army gave three loud huzzas.' It is to be regretted that the honest captain suffered his prejudices to carry him so far, that he denied the rites of burial to his great enemy. He had him quartered, on the contrary, and his head carried to Plymouth, where, as Mather is careful to tell us, it arrived on the very day when the church there were keeping a solemn thanksgiving. The conqueror's temper was soured by the illiberality of the Government toward himself. For this march he received but four and sixpence a man, together with thirty shillings a head for the killed. He observes that Philip's head went at the same price, and he thought it a 'scanty reward and poor encouragement.' The sachem's head was carried about the Colony in triumph; and the Indian who killed him was rewarded with one of his hands. To finish the wretched detail, his belt, powder-horn and other royalties were soon after given up by one of his chief captains; and the lock of the gun which was fatal to him, with a *samp*-dish found in his wigwam, are still to be seen among the antiquities of the Historical Society of this State. Montaup, which became the subject of a dispute between the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, was finally awarded to the latter by a special decision of King Charles. Last and worst of all, his only son, a boy of nine years of age, whom we have already mentioned as among the English captives, was sold as a slave and shipped to Bermuda. It should be stated, however, that this unfortunate measure was not taken without some scruples. The Plymouth Court were so much perplexed upon the occasion, as to conclude upon applying to the clergymen of the Colony for advice. Mr. Cotton was of opinion that 'the children of notorious traitors, rebels, and murderers, especially such as have been principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, might be involved in the guilt of their parents, and might, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death.' Dr. Increase Mather compared the child to Hadad, whose father was killed by Joab; and he intimates, that if Hadad himself had not escaped, David would have taken measures to prevent his molesting the next generation. It is gratifying to know, that the course he recommended was postponed, even to the ignominious and mortifying one we have mentioned.

Such was the impression which had been universally forced

upon the Colonists by the terrible spirit of Philip ; and never was a civilized or an uncivilized enemy more generally or more justly feared. How much greater his success might have been, had circumstances favored, instead of opposing him, it is fortunately impossible for us to estimate. It is confessed, however, that had even the Narraghansetts joined him during the first summer of the war,—as nothing but the abrupt commencement of it prevented them from doing,—the whole country, from the Piscataqua to the Sound, must have been over-swept and desolated. But as it was, Philip did and endured enough to immortalize him as a warrior, a statesman, and we may add, as a high-minded and noble patriot. Whatever might be the prejudice against him in the days of terror produced by his prowess, there are both the magnanimity and the calmness in these times, to do him the justice he deserves. He fought and fell,—miserably, indeed, but gloriously,—the avenger of his own household, the worshipper of his own gods, the guardian of his own honor, a martyr for the soil which was his birth-place, and the proud liberty which was his birth-right.

ART. VI.—*Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution.*

The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution ; being the Letters of Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, John Adams, John Jay, Arthur Lee, William Lee, Ralph Izard, Francis Dana, William Carmichael, Henry Laurens, John Laurens, M. Dumas, and others, concerning the foreign relations of the United States, during the whole Revolution ; together with the Letters in Reply, from the Secret Committee of Congress and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs ; also, the entire Correspondence of the French Ministers Gerard and Luzerne, with Congress. Published under the direction of the President of the United States, from the original manuscripts in the Department of State, conformably to a Resolution of Congress of March 27th, 1818. Edited by JARED SPARKS. In twelve volumes octavo. Boston. N. Hale and Gray & Bowen. G. & C. & H. Carvill, New York ; P. Thompson, Washington. 1829—1830.

This is a work of great importance for the history of the Revolution. It is a store-house of new materials. If it does not

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